

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 03535 01 OF 02 090514Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 AF-10 ARA-11 EA-10 EUR-12
NEA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
HA-05 /110 W

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O 090503Z SEP 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3297

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03535

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: WESTERN FIVE MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY
GENERAL

REF: (A) USUN 3464, (B) USUN 3504, (C) USUN 3448

1. SUMMARY. THE WESTERN FIVE MET PM SEPTEMBER 8 WITH
UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM AT HIS REQUEST. WALDHEIM
WAS QUITE SHAKEN BY THE LETTER WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED
FROM SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA (REF A).
WALDHEIM SEEMS TO BE UNFAMILIAR WITH BOTHA'S TACTICS
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PAGE 02 USUN N 03535 01 OF 02 090514Z

AND ASCRIBED GREATER SIGNIFICANCE TO BOTHA'S ARGUMENTA-
TION THAN ONE MIGHT HAVE SUSPECTED. AFTER ASSURING
HIM THAT THE LETTER DID NOT AMOUNT TO A CHANGE IN SOUTH
AFRICA'S POSITION, WE SHARED ASSESSMENTS OF THE REMAIN-
ING ISSUES OBSTRUCTING A FINAL SETTLEMENT. FOR SOUTH
AFRICA THESE ISSUES ARE: THE SIZE OF THE FORCE; THE
ROLE OF THE POLICE; AND THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. FOR

SWAPO AND THE AFRICANS THEY ARE: REGISTRATION; THE WRITTEN CEASEFIRE; AND THE NUMBER OF POLICE. WHEN THE CONVERSATION TURNED TO NEXT STEPS, CANADIAN CHARGE LAPOINTE SUGGESTED THAT A RESPONSE BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO BOTHA'S LETTER MIGHT SERVE AS A VEHICLE FOR PUBLICLY CLARIFYING ASPECTS OF THE SYG'S REPORT. WALDHEIM IMMEDIATELY ERUPTED SAYING THAT BOTHA'S LETTER MAKES ACCUSATIONS OF THE FIVE AND SWAPO BUT NOT THE UN. ANY RESPONSE WOULD BE UP TO THE FIVE; RESPONSE FROM WALDHEIM WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION. WALDHEIM CALMED DOWN EQUALLY QUICKLY WHEN WE EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD NO INTEREST IN HIS (OR IN OUR) RESPONDING TO THE POINTS RAISED IN BOTHA'S LETTER. WHAT WE WERE INTERESTED IN WAS CONSIDERATION OF A FORMULA FOR PUBLIC CLARIFICATION BY WALDHEIM OF THE CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF HIS REPORT. THE MODALITIES FOR SUCH A CLARIFICATION WERE OF MINOR CONCERN. WALDHEIM ASSURED THE GROUP THAT HE WAS OPEN TO OUR SUGGESTIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT THE FIVE MEET WITH AHTISAARI AND GENERAL PHILIPP TO CONSIDER THE MATTER IN DETAIL. WE DID NOT RAISE WITH WALDHEIM THE DRAFT CLARIFYING LANGUAGE WHICH WE HAD WITH US. INSTEAD WE WILL RAISE THAT WHEN WE MEET WITH AHTISAARI AT 9 A.M. TOMORROW (SEPTEMBER 9). END SUMMARY.

2. WESTERN FIVE AMBASSADORS AND MISSION OFFICERS MET FOR TWO HOURS PM SEPTEMBER 8 WITH SECRETARY GENERAL
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PAGE 03 USUN N 03535 01 OF 02 090514Z

WALDHEIM AT HIS REQUEST. WALDHEIM WAS CONSIDERABLY TAKEN ABACK BY THE LETTER WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA (REF A) CONTAINING SOUTH AFRICA'S OBJECTIONS TO WALDHEIM'S REPORT. HE HAD READ THE LETTER CAREFULLY, CONSIDERED THAT BOTHA WAS "OPENING HIS HEART" IN THE LETTER, AND INTERPRETED IT AS A SUBSTANTIAL ALTERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION. WHEN WE EXPLAINED TO HIM THAT THIS WAS BOTHA'S WAY OF OPERATING, AND THAT WE INTERPRETED THE LETTER AS BEING PRIMARILY FOR PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION, HE RELAXED BUT HIS CONCERN WAS STILL EVIDENT.

3. WE THEN SHARED OUR ASSESSMENTS OF THE REMAINING OBSTACLES TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT. FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS THOSE OBSTACLES ARE: THE SIZE OF THE FORCE, THE ROLE OF THE POLICE; AND THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. FOR THE AFRICANS AND SWAPO THEY ARE: REGISTRATION, THE NEED FOR A WRITTEN CEASEFIRE, AND THE NUMBER OF UN POLICE. WALDHEIM CONSIDERED THE NUMBER OF POLICE A LARGER HURDLE THAN DID WE BUT SEEMED REASSURED WHEN WE INFORMED HIM THAT NO SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM EXISTED SO LONG AS U.N. POLICE PERSONNEL HAD A MONITORING

FUNCTION.

4. WALDHEIM RAISED TWO OTHER ISSUES WHICH HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION: SWAPO'S REQUEST FOR CONFINEMENT OF ITS GUERRILLAS TO FIVE LOCATIONS INSIDE NAMIBIA; AND AN AFRICAN REQUEST FOR SIGNIFICANT AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL. ON THIS LATTER POINT WALDHEIM INDICATED THAT THE AFRICANS HAD SPECIFICALLY SUGGESTED THAT THE DEPUTY COMMANDER OF THE MILITARY SECTION OF UNTAG AND THE COMMANDER OF THE UN POLICE SHOULD BOTH BE AFRICANS. WE REPLIED THAT THE STAFFING OF UNTAG WAS COMPLETELY UP TO THE UNITED NATIONS. WE ASSUMED THEY WOULD FOLLOW THEIR

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 USUN N 03535 02 OF 02 090516Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 03535

CUSTOMARY PRACTICE OF EQUITABLE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION, AND WE WERE OTHERWISE NOT GOING TO INVOLVE OURSELVES IN THAT MATTER. CONCERNING SWAPO'S REQUEST FOR CONFINEMENT TO FIVE BASES, WE STATED THAT THE REQUEST CONTRADICTED THE PROPOSAL, THAT IT WOULD BE TOTALLY

UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS, AND THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN RAISED WITH US BY ANY OF THE AFRICANS. WE ASSUMED THAT THE AFRICANS HAD MADE A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO DISCARD THE IDEA. (EVEN SWAPO HAD ONLY RAISED THE NOTION WITH US INDIRECTLY.) UK AMBASSADOR RICHARD ADDED POINTEDLY: "RESTRICTION TO BASE DOES NOT MEAN THAT YOU CAN CREATE A BASE IN ORDER TO BE RESTRICTED".
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PAGE 02 USUN N 03535 02 OF 02 090516Z

5. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF HOW TO RESOLVE THOSE ISSUES WHICH REMAINED IN THE WAY OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT. CANADIAN CHARGE LAPOINTE SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS A RESPONSE FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO BOTHA COULD SERVE AS A VEHICLE FOR PUBLICLY CLARIFYING THE CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF THE SYG'S REPORT. WALDHEIM ERUPTED IMMEDIATELY SAYING THAT BOTHA'S LETTER CONSISTED OF ACCUSATIONS OF THE FIVE AND OF SWAPO BUT NOT OF THE UN. IF A RESPONSE WAS TO BE WRITTEN, IT SHOULD BE DONE BY THE FIVE. A RESPONSE FROM WALDHEIM WAS "OUT OF THE QUESTION.

6. WALDHEIM CALMED DOWN EQUALLY RAPIDLY WHEN WE EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD NO INTEREST IN HIS (OR IN OUR) RESPONDING TO ALL THE ACCUSATIONS RAISED IN BOTHA'S LETTER. WHAT WE WERE INTERESTED IN WAS IN DESIGNING A FORMULA BY WHICH WALDHEIM MIGHT PUBLICLY CLARIFY THE CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF HIS REPORT. WE EXPLAINED THAT WE WERE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS THAT TBIS CLARIFICATION BE MADE PUBLIC PRIOR TO THE MONDAY CABINET MEETING IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT THAT THE METHOD OF ISSUING THE CLARIFICATION WAS OF RELATIVELY MINOR CONCERN TO US. WALDHEIM ASSURED US THAT HE WAS ANXIOUS TO DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE TO OVERCOME THE REMAINING HURDLES AND THAT HE WOULD APPRECIATE OUR SUGGESTIONS. WHEN WE MENTIONED THAT WE HAD SOME DRAFT CLARIFYING LANGUAGE WHICH WE WOULD BE HAPPY TO DISCUSS WITH HIM, HE SUGGESTED THAT A SMALLER GROUP MIGHT BE PREFERABLE. HE VOLUNTEERED AHTISAARI AND GENERAL PHILIPP TO MEET WITH THE GROUP BUT ASSURED US THAT HE TOO WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO US THE NEXT DAY (SATURDAY). WE HAVE SCHEDULED A MEETING WITH AHTISAARI AND PHILIPP FOR 9 A.M. SATURDAY (SEPTEMBER 9).
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PAGE 03 USUN N 03535 02 OF 02 090516Z

7. COMMENT. DESPITE THE FEW HEATED MOMENTS, THE MEETING

WAS USEFUL. WALDHEIM IS ANXIOUS TO HELP BUT WITHOUT
STICKING HIS NECK OUT. WHILE WILLING TO CONSIDER
CLARIFICATIONS, HIS APPROACH IS CAUTIOUS. HE REITERATED
SEVERAL TIMES THE DANGER THAT IN CLARIFYING FOR ONE SIDE,
ONE MIGHT UPSET THE OTHER. WE HOPE THAT WITH AHTISAARI
WE CAN AGREE ON THE METHOD AND LANGUAGE OF A PUBLIC
CLARIFICATION WHICH WILL SATISFY BOTH SIDES AS MUCH
AS POSSIBLE. END COMMENT. YOUNG

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